

The

Philanthropist.

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

GABRIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editor.

VOLUME II. NO. 37. NEW SERIES.

THE PHILANTHROPIST,

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ANTI-SLAVERY.

ADDRESS
Of the Western Reserve Anti-Slavery Convention—to the Citizens of the Western Reserve, on the subject of POLITICAL ACTION.

Resolved, That Abolitionists ought not, and that we will not, vote for any man for any Legislative or Executive office, who is not heartily opposed to Slavery, and who will not openly meet and honestly sustain all constitutional measures, calculated immediately to restore to the oppressed their rights.

Resolved, That in the exercise of our privileges as Electors, we should be governed by the whole moral principles of the candidates as constituting fitness for office; and that the election of any one principle as a test, regardless of other qualities, would be unjust to ourselves and the public.

We address ourselves to our fellow-citizens on the subject of these resolutions, as to men who will think for themselves; who habitually feel that, as American citizens, they have rights and franchises which they stand ready to exercise as their own good judgment shall direct, unassisted by elation, unswayed by dictation, and unchanged by party. We wish to explain these resolutions, that we may not be misunderstood, and we wish to set forth our reasons, confident that when candidly examined, they will be allowed to have great weight by all men of patriotism and independence.

Our object is not the formation of a distinct political party. Such a design we now disown, as we have always disclaimed it. We repudiate the name of party; for the epithet so well applied signifies an association of men under leaders who dictate to those who follow them, their course and objects—the cry they are to raise, and the political ball which is to be handled about for the time—*to secure the attention and engross the interests of the people.* We confess no zeal either to initiate or sell ourselves to support organizations which act, to a great extent, as immense machines to control and pervert public sentiment, corrupting the public press, barring away the votes of the people in masses to gain party ends—easizing individuals for the exercise of their opinions and undoubted rights, sanctioning and forming leagues with all injustice, and, for party purposes, treading under foot liberties and franchises, the fundamental principles of our government, and the inalienable rights of man. When associations put private and partial interests in the place of their country's good, when they allow brief and comparatively insignificant questions to interfere with the permanent amelioration of the government, and the universal cause of freedom, we think it high time to break away from their thraldom.

We especially object to the overweening influence of party, because it is fast killing out the spirit of personal independence, and substituting a kind of political slavery. They forestall our votes by their caucuses, drag us into their ranks, and then outrageously vilify us and injuriously affect our interests. If we dare not yield to party necessities, or exercise the first prerogative of freedom, that of changing and acting upon our own opinions. We acknowledge no party obligations. We shall heed neither their dictation nor their clamor. When not inconsistent with higher objects and duties, we shall support their measures and their men as they please us individually.

We hold that on every individual to whom our country has given the right of suffrage, she has imposed an office and sacred trust. The present, we look upon as a great emergency calling for its exercise. The great question of liberty or slavery for these United States is about to be decided. Questions of governmental policy, of political economy, which are in ordinary times proper rallying points, must now be thrown into the back ground by the transcendent importance of the interests now involved. As far as slavery affects or threatens us in our political relations, it is absurd to say that we are not to apply political remedies. We propose to interfere politically, only as far as the evil is within our jurisdiction, and as it affects our rights and interests as citizens. We have always asserted and loudly proclaimed the doctrine, that moral means only are to be used to remedy the evils which afflict our fellow-men where we have no political sway. If, however, the effect of our own political measures should happen indirectly to further the emancipation of the suffering and the wronged in other lands and other jurisdictions, we cannot conceive that this should be an objection to their adoption. We also leave entirely untouched the position of J. Q. Adams, that when one portion of a number of connected States cherishes a system hostile, odious and aggressive, the other portion may legitimately demand the abandonment of the odious system as the sole condition of continuing the alliance. All that we now urge, is the right and duty of acting upon the slavery existing within our own jurisdiction, of righting the wrongs we have received from its aggressions, and vindicating the first principles of freedom and constitutional right, which the minions of slavery have so roughly assailed, and the partisans of power so basely betrayed. We spoke of the present as a great emergency. Listen for a moment while we state the case, calling on you to judge if we vary or overstate. Slavery existed in this country prior to the Revolution; and when our Fathers had achieved our national Independence, they had yet to lament over the gallant servitude in which a large portion of the inhabitants were held. They looked upon this state of things with the deepest regret, and uniformly spoke of it in tones of mingled condemnation and shame. They counted with certainty the speedy abolition of slavery throughout the States, and under this expectation carefully refused to recognise the fact of its existence in the constitution

of the country. The Revolution was essentially a strife for principle, and it produced in the American mind a most magnanimous and elevated sense of the value of liberty, of the importance of man as man, and of the sacredness of those rights of which by virtue of his manhood he is endowed. But, wherever advantage was not taken of this favorable state of things to strike a death-blow to slavery, slavery in its turn produced its legitimate effect by extinguishing this sense of the right and of the priceless value of freedom. Slavery began to renew its strength and awaken prejudice in its favor. Its partisans demanded that for the present it should be let alone, and its champions soon appeared in the legislative halls of the states and the nation. It availed itself of every apology, it entwined itself with every interest, it courted and obtained the sacred sanctions of religion and of law, and her favorites became lifted up with pride and honors, and fullness of bread. Three generations of her doomed and suffering victims have passed away, and slavery has extended its baleful empire over thirteen States, containing a territory exclusive of Texas.

Throughout all this vast region, once a free soil, slavery is now the one and paramount law. Here, like a fairy, the genius of slavery sits enthroned with the cup of her abominations in her hand, slaying her martyrs and victims and martyrs, dealing death and torture to all who are suspected, even in thought, of questioning her divine sovereignty. And not content with a dominion over one-half of the republic, so absolute as to set at defiance the sacred right of citizenship in the persons of all upon whom she can lay her bloody hands, unless they acknowledge her paramount right; not content with the abject homage paid her as promptly as exacted by the citizens of the north, her creatures now, notwithstanding the words of the grant giving Congress legislative power in all cases whatsoever,¹ boldly deny the authority of the nation to do away slavery in the territories under the national control, on the unheard of pretext that slavery vests rights in the master which legislation has no right to take from him without his express individual consent. Thus denying the rightfulness of all emancipation by virtue of law from any source, and consecrating slavery as an inalienable right. Their demands are of the most reasonable character. If we say you not to relinquish any party object, if we say you not to have any, If we have our *sine qua non*, you also have yours. You ask that every candidate exactly fit the Procrustes bed of party. We ask that in the present necessity of the state, he shall pledge himself to oppose the encroachments of the slaveholding power, to vote for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade wherever the same is under the national control, to act for the repeal of the odious statutes which now disgrace a state nominally free, and to stand up as the advocates of human rights, the inalienable rights of man, and the common enjoyment of those privileges which all free countries grant alike to all the upright members of the body politic. We ask you candidly, if the man who refuses to do this is worthy to receive the vote of a freeman. We extend this pledge only to the executive office of the state and nation, for the correct exercise of their functions must we look for the political remedy of the evils of which we complain.

The reason why we set up no candidates of our own, is not that we doubt our right so to do, but simply because we deem it inexpedient. For we believe there is in the breasts of the people, an inherent love of what is just and true, as the merits of prejudice are first being dispelled, and the floods of persecuting waters sent out to drown our cause have lost their power to harm it; we are confident that it will soon be espoused by the multitude of the lovers of liberty of every name among the people. Already is the great question of slavery and its bearings in their hearts, nor can party division, nor the torments of abuse or misrepresentation, which may be poured out, prevent its becoming the rallying point of numbers. Our cause is that of the Revolution, and we are as confident of its success as we are of the ultimate triumph of truth and justice. We are backed up by the sense and the inextinguishable moral force of the whole civilized world. We set in a line with Christianity, with the march of modern civilization and enlightenment.—The principles of our cause are fundamental in the social organization and civil code of all free states, and they embody the moving and revolutionizing power of the present age. Let politicians and parties beware how they set themselves against such a movement. In time past, remember that their votes are all treasured up and recorded against their names, and that the day either of reformation or retribution is at hand.

The abolitionists of the Reserve, we exhort to firmness in the position now so unanimously taken by those who think with them throughout the United States. Great consequences wait the result of your unity and firmness. Every finesse will be used to drive you from your purposes without acknowledging your principles. Your partiality for particular men will be used as a means to shake your constancy. But what will it advantage you or your country, to give Clay, Van Buren, or any other particular man an office, while they are pledged to the support of the slaveholding interest? As the primitive St. Ambrose repulsed the favorite Emperor of Rome, declaring that he could have no part in things holy, whose hands were stained with innocent blood, so should you be careful not to prostitute the trust your country has reposed in you, by lending your votes to give sanction or honor to men implicated in upholding the foul and bloody system of slavery. If your party attachment are appealed to, and you cannot in an emergency, like the present, break the tie that binds you ask yourselves if the fact is not, in itself, a bondage to your decayed and threatened liberties. We have called upon our public men. A few have responded like patriots, and placing themselves in the breach, have done what they could. Their names we honor, their memory we embalm in our hearts. But the majority, under the influence of the two great parties which overshadow the land, have returned upon us abuse and scorn. Their leaders vie with each other in subserviency to the slaveholding power; and well-knowing that the genius of slavery allows of no toleration and no compromise, they objectively join themselves to the train that follows chained to her car, ready to receive the gift of power at her hand to be exercised according to her will. Our petitions lie aside with contempt, and deliberately pass resolutions to silence us and our advocates. What shall we next do? Continue our votes to keep such men in office? Never! We stepped not out of our political sphere in aught that we asked of them; neither do we now, while, in the exercise of our unquenchable prerogative, we advance a step, and say, you can no longer receive our votes, be they few or many, for you have failed to merit them. You have calculated by the overweening influence of party to

draw us aside from the great objects before us, and by distracting our minds and engrossing our interest with minor objects, to avail yourselves of the power and influence, which our country has placed in our hands to be exercised for her weal. We acknowledge with regret, that our past course has given you some reason to suppose that we should yield assent to your claim of a sort of acquired property in us. The ties of party are not easily loosened. We have waited for a change with great patience, while you have mocked us and our cause, and set at nought the best interests of your country. But if you reckon rather upon our fealty, you reckon without your host. Sooner will we see you and your parties sink into oblivion with a millstone around your necks, than lend our voices to uphold your traitorous and abandoned course. We need no one to tell us that a vote withheld may be more influential than a vote given. We have no secrets. We address you plainly. We are well aware of the advantages of our situation, and of your needs. Our votes are our own, and we can if necessary be constant to our point for years. We have not entered lightly upon this matter. We have no organization sufficiently active and efficient for all our purposes. Our compatriots are unsurpassed in the land for intelligence and integrity, and they have enlisted in this cause not through fear nor hope of favor. Their hatred of all oppression, their attachment to justice, to their own and their country's rights, and the universal rights of man, are their bond of union and the best warrant of their constancy. Their demands are of the most reasonable character. If we say you not to relinquish any party object, if we say you not to have any, If we have our *sine qua non*, you also have yours. You ask that every candidate exactly fit the Procrustes bed of party. We ask that in the present necessity of the state, he shall pledge himself to oppose the encroachments of the slaveholding power, to vote for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade wherever the same is under the national control, to act for the repeal of the odious statutes which now disgrace a state nominally free, and to stand up as the advocates of human rights, the inalienable rights of man, and the common enjoyment of those privileges which all free countries grant alike to all the upright members of the body politic. We ask you candidly, if the man who refuses to do this is worthy to receive the vote of a freeman. We extend this pledge only to the executive office of the state and nation, for the correct exercise of their functions must we look for the political remedy of the evils of which we complain.

The principle of this course of action is simple, and easy to be apprehended by all. There cannot be general concentration upon every point at once. Men when they rally must choose among the things most important to be attained or avoided. If those which are immeasurably greatest in importance, are set aside by the shape and direction which has been given to politics, we give or withhold our votes, as the case may be, in such a manner as to secure to the candidate in hand, proper attention and action. Neither in such a case are we reduced to the dilemma in which the politicians, by foreclosing the party by caucuses nominations, would place us—the choice of two evils. By refusing both, we may attain a far greater good. We are in the habit of giving our votes too easily. Those who are more chary of them, turn the table on the politicians and reduce them to the dilemma of losing their votes, or setting up candidates who can in conscience be voted for. You have always demanded certain requisites before they could receive your votes. You will not vote for drunken, vicious, or abandoned characters, by whatever party setup. For the elevation of such men to office and honor must, as a general principle, produce infinitely more harm than their election can do good. Parties always have been and always will be governed, in the nomination of candidates, by the qualifications which the people require before they render their votes.

The adoption of this mode of action by individual voters, is all that is required to give success to our cause, and produce a more thorough regeneration of politics than any or all party measures ever devised.

Meetings of all the township societies are expected to be held to take this subject into consideration. The county society in each county, will take means to ascertain and make public the sentiments of all candidates for all state and national offices. The political sentiments of all who ask to represent us, we have the most undoubted right to know. We do not ask the parties to surrender any legitimate object. We ask nothing to which any good man or any patriot cannot say yes. He, who in the present emergency answers insincerely, or evades or refuses to answer, is no better for us than the open advocate of slavery and all its projects. We have already no want of men who will do nothing. We must have those who will stand in the breach and resist; who will force back aggression and vindicate the law and the right. Whether such shall be the issue of the present contest depends on you. But do not imagine that one year will bring a final decision. You had better not enlist in this contest, unless you can do it for the war; unless you draw the sword, and can throw away the scabbard, and forget personal rewards and minor objects, while you strike home for principle, for country and for God.

In the history of every nation, there are frequent crises when the defense of the liberties of the land devolve upon a comparatively few, and those few, men whose names for the time are cast out as evil. This is as often the case in the empire of slavery as in other forms of government. We hesitate not to say, that upon the abolitionists of this land, in the providence of God, is this sacred trust and high duty now devolved. May they have wisdom, that they may well acquaint themselves to their country and before Him.

POLITICAL ACTION.
What is American slavery? It is a system, which, by law and in practice, forbids marriage and the reading of the Bible, and classes immortal and blood redeemed men with brutes. It is unsurpassed for wickedness and cruelty, by any of the systems, that ever outraged humanity, or insulted God. I put it to you then, my dear sir, and would have you answer me as in the light of eternity, rather than under the worldly influences which surround and press upon you, "Can a Christian consistently vote for a legislative candidate, who is opposed to the repeal of any of the laws that uphold such a system?" "Can a Christian consistently vote for a legislative candidate who is opposed to the repeal of any laws which may sanction and uphold the crimes of counterfeiting and burglary?" He can so vote with much less inconsistency than he can vote for a pro-slavery legislative candidate. For of how light a hue are the crimes of counterfeiting and burglary in the eyes of him, who is called on to choose between the evil of having counterfeit money put upon him, or his house robbed every month of his life, and the unspeakable greater evil of wearing the yoke of slavery, for even a single month! In the eye of the slave, the Christian, who sanctions slavery by his vote, is a thousand fold more inconsistent, than he who thus sanctions counterfeiting and burglary; and so would he be in our eye, if our soul were in the slave soul's stead; and if we obeyed the apostolic injunction to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." But you will, perhaps, say that the pro-slavery candidate is not sensible of the sin of slavery, and that the other candidate is sensible of the sin of counterfeiting and burglary. This is true, and because it is, thousands of good men vote for pro-slavery candidates. But the great question with the elector, on going to the polls, should not be, whether the candidate is ignorant or aware of the great iniquity of a system, which that candidate, if elected, will exert his official power to uphold. This is, indeed, a proper and indispensable question for determining whether the candidate be more or less guilty; but the knowledge or ignorance of the candidate on the point under consideration, in no wise affects the guilt of the elector who votes for him. In the good providence of God, I have come to learn, that slavery is enormous wickedness, and that the continuance of it, is contrary to the will of God. I believe, that I vote for a pro-slavery legislative candidate. I admit, that I am to exercise Christian charity toward the candidate, and to hope, if I can, that his sin in the premises, is but the sin of ignorance. Nevertheless, it is my knowledge, rather than his ignorance, that is to be the prompter and guide, and measure of my conduct. I am to walk in my own light, and not in darkness. I believe that there may be a slaveholder, who is a Christian; but if I vote for such a one for a law maker—for one, who, if elected, will contribute his official power to sustain slavery—God will hold me, rather than the negligent slaveholder, for whom I vote, guilty of the sin of slavery.

This method was pursued by the abolitionists, who engaged in the contest with slavery, which about forty years ago began in the heart of the slave dealing interest in Rhode Island, and sped triumphantly through the New England States, and from thence through New York to New Jersey. In the state of New York, the contest was maintained for several years, and ceased by the strict adherence of the abolitionists of that day to this simple principle of refusing to vote for any man who would not act for the abolition of slavery in that state. The same course was deliberately adopted by the abolitionists of England, and after a protracted struggle, they triumphantly carried the men who pledged themselves to their cause into the House of Commons, whence whigs or not; and have now, while in the exercise of our unquenchable prerogative, we advance a step, and say, you can no longer receive our votes, be they few or many, for you have failed to merit them. You have calculated by the overweening influence of party to

are made of porcelain, and the bulk of them of common clay—may, with comparatively little inconsistency, vote in favor of slavery; but, surely, no republican can do so, save at the expense of warring upon the genius and theory, and trampling upon the fundamental laws of his government. If I am the subject of a republican government, I am guilty of treachery to all its essential principles if I vote to make a law maker of any other than a republican; and however wise or virtuous may be the candidate, if he subscribe not to the doctrine of the equality of men in their natural rights, he is, manifestly, not a republican. Here again I must remark, that ignorance of the real nature of slavery on the part of the candidate, who espouses pro-slavery views, constitutes no excuse for voting for him. The elector is to see to it, that his vote corresponds, not with the ignorance of the candidate, but with his own views, and with just views of the character of the political institutions of his country, and of the political character of slavery.

The wheel of reform would move but slowly if the reformer should shape his course and adapt his demands to the views and wishes of those whom he seeks to reform. "Then shall we know if we follow on to know the Lord." He can be no reformer of his fellow men and no follower of God, who, instead of keeping pace with the divine revelations to his soul, contributes to elevate the places of power, persons, who will carry out the opposites of his own great moral principles, and respond to his increasing light, but in deeds of darkness. Christian reformers can never lower the standard of truth in accommodation to the voluntary or involuntary, the guilty or the guiltless, ignorance of any man—a candidate for the legislature or the pulpit not excepted.—*Gerrit Smith.*

CORRESPONDENCE ON SLAVERY,
Between Gov. Everett, and Hon. Mr. Borden.

FALL RIVER, Oct. 18th, 1839.

DEAR SIR.—As you are again a candidate for re-election, and as there are many, very many in this Commonwealth, who look upon Slavery, as it exists in these United States, as an evil of the first magnitude—an evil that ought to be immediately removed, and that if removed at all, peacefully, is to be done by a proper exercise of the elective franchise, and that therefore in the exercise of that franchise, they ought to be governed, to some extent at least, by the views which the candidate may entertain upon that subject,—in consequence of these considerations, I am induced to propose to you the following interrogatories, to wit:

1st. Are you in favor of the immediate abolition, by law, of slavery in the District of Columbia, and of the slave-trade between the States of this Union?

2nd. Are you opposed to the admission into the Union of any new State, the Constitution and Government of which tolerates domestic slavery?

3rd. Are you in favor of the immediate abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and of the slave-trade between the States of this Union?

I am, Sir, with much esteem,

Yours friend and ob't servant,
NATH'L B. BORDEN.
To His Excellency, EDWARD EVERETT.

GOV. EVERETT'S ANSWER.

Watertown, 24th Oct. 1839.

DEAR SIR—On Saturday last I duly received your letter of the 18th, propounding to me certain interrogatories, and earnestly requesting an early answer.

You are aware that several Resolves, on the subject of those inquiries and other kindred topics, accompanied by a very able report, was introduced into the Senate of the Commonwealth the year before last, by a joint committee of the two houses of which the late greatly lamented Mr. Alvord was chairman. Those Resolves, after having been somewhat enlarged by amendment, were adopted by the Legislature.

They appear to me to cover the whole ground of your two interrogatories. Having cheerfully co-operated in the passage of the resolves, and concurring in the general reasoning by which they were sustained, in the powerful report of the chairman of the committee, I respond to both your inquiries in the affirmative.

The first of the three subjects, embraced in your inquiry, is the only one of them which came before Congress while I was a member. I voted in the negative, on a motion to lay upon the table the petition of the American Anti-Slavery Society, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and on the other motions of like character, intended to cast off the consideration of this class of petitions.

I am, dear sir, very respectfully,
Your friend and servant,
EDWARD EVERETT.

Hon. NATHANIEL B. BORDEN.

Editor of *Philanthropist*.

Sir: The General Conference of the Freewill Baptist Convention was recently held at Cincinnati, Ohio. The following resolutions, on the subject of slavery, were adopted, after an interesting and animated discussion; and I was ordered to furnish a copy for publication in your paper.

WM. BURR, Clerk.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI:

Tuesday Morning, November 19, 1839.]

OUR PLAN OF OPERATIONS.

Notwithstanding the great arrangement in the business affairs of the country, and the slowness with which funds are received into our treasury, the Executive Committee have recently decided on carrying out an extensive system of operations. We have just concluded an arrangement with the Executive Committee of the Am. Anti-Slavery Society, by which the whole State is given up to us, with the understanding that we are to prosecute a vigorous plan of anti-slavery action. The agents commissioned for this State, by the Parent Committee, are now under our control, and we are responsible for their support. We have at present six agents in our employ, five engaged by the year, one for three months. Of these, Mr. Buist is our general agent; one acts chiefly as financial agent; another, as travelling book-agent as well as lecturer; and the rest are lecturers. The aggregate amount of their salaries, exclusive of travelling expenses, will be \$2525 00.

The Rev. Mr. Winans is now laboring in Portage county: the friends there have promised to support him while he continues among them.

Professor Hudson, commissioned for three months, will probably make the circuit of Harrison county. The Abolitionists there have agreed to support him.

The Rev. Mr. Streeter is laboring in Crawford, and will probably continue in that region.

Mr. Smith, our financial agent, has commenced his efforts in Ashland county, and will act chiefly on the Reserve.

The Rev. Mr. Boyle, travelling book-agent and lecturer, has just started on a tour through some of the central counties of the State.

Rev. J. D. Buist, general agent, is now on the Reserve.

It is our intention, so soon as a suitable person can be found, to appoint a financial agent for the southern half of the state; and also, to commission additional lecturers. Several counties have already pledged themselves for the support of one or more lecturers whom we may appoint. Geauga, Cuyahoga, Medina, Lorain, Huron, Erie, Licking, and Green, are all desirous of having lectures to labor within their several bounds. We intend, if we can secure the right kind of men, to supply the principal counties in the state.

Our friends see that we are in earnest—that we have assumed heavy responsibilities. The question now is, will they permit us to sink under them? Will they not come up to our help? Our plan of operations is before them. Is it important to sustain it? Can they expend their money to better purpose, than in helping us to carry it into execution? When they give, they will give with their eyes open—they see how their money is to be laid out. We have been too sluggish in Ohio. The State ought to have been abolitionized before this. The Committee have resolved that it shall be abolitionized, because they rely on the co-operation of their friends. Every auxiliary society will of course see the necessity of adopting some systematic measures for raising funds. Those that have pledged, cannot with a good conscience withhold their pledges one moment longer. Those that have not, will show themselves reentrant to their professions, unless they send us some help as soon as possible. These are "hard times," we know. The greater the necessity for every Abolitionist to do something. During the next two months we shall be on the look out for almost daily remittances. Shall we be disappointed?

A LETTER FROM THE EDITOR TO HIS READERS.

DEAR FRIENDS:

We assume that the Philanthropist is to be sustained. We now issue weekly about 3300 copies, and since last February have had an increase in our subscription list, of more than three hundred. This increase, is the more note-worthy, as it has taken place in a comparatively quiet time through the country, and in a period of pecuniary embarrassment, which has borne heavily on newspaper establishments. It may therefore be regarded as solid increases—a clear proof of the deep hold which our cause has on the minds and hearts of the thinking men. It is already known that this paper is the organ of both the Ohio and Indiana State Societies, although owned exclusively by the former. Our Illinois friends, also, we have just heard, have done us the honor, to adopt, as the organ of their State Society, and will doubtless take measures for extending its circulation in their State. Under such circumstances, how can we help assuming that the Philanthropist must be sustained? The people will not be quiet at their ploughs and anvils, without some means of learning and counteracting the insidious and malignant encroachments of slavery on their rights; they cannot sleep contentedly, unless they know how fares the cause of Freedom. And one thing is certain, Western Abolitionists will have a Western Anti-Slavery paper.

Now, is it not extremely humiliating, that our Western paper, the organ of three State Societies, should recently, (from sheer necessity,) have been issued only once a fortnight! We pursued what we thought the safe course. The Committee could not think of lessening the size of the paper; neither could they bear the idea of incurring a heavy debt. Therefore, they issued it only every other week, the great reason of which was, that our subscribers would not pay us promptly what they owe us. Or to assign reasons more in detail.

1. Many subscribers, living at a distance, as in Michigan, have found it difficult to procure currency money in which to transmit their subscriptions.

2. Many are not punctual in payment, because they have determined to send their dues after the sale of their crops.

3. Many have neglected to send them, because no agent has called for them, and they have not been used to transmit monies by mail.

4. Many, very many have been thoughtless, or have fancied we could get along very well without the small sums they owed us, or have intended to pay at some future time, or, after reading some of

our calls, have really hoped they would have such influence on our subscribers generally, as to relieve themselves from the necessity of paying immediately.

Among them all, however, we have been the losers. The printer had to pay his hands, and we had to pay the printer, or else, the press would stop. We could not excuse ourselves so easily, as could our distant subscribers. Money or no money in the treasury, some body must advance it. Is it any wonder, under such circumstances, that we should feel compelled to omit a paper now and then? Last year, some members of the Committee were wont to advance any sums which the weekly issue of the paper demanded. They trusted to the punctually paying subscribers, for the repayment of the amount. The continual derangement of money matters, however, puts it out of their power, to do this, what they did last. Now, if the paper live at all, it must live by means of those very small sums which you owe, and think so insignificant. We, therefore, beseech you, O, subscriber, whether you live in Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois, to bear this in mind, *Regularly in the issuing of the paper will depend on the regularity with which you pay us what you owe.* Nay, more—the existence of the paper henceforth rests on your honest punctuality. As to subscribers in the East, so wonderfully negligent have they been, that we suppose they think it a favor to us to receive the paper gratuitously. We assure them, they will do us a much greater favor, by paying up their arrears. Of course, this is not intended for the few readers, who have a right to receive the paper gratuitously.

As an example to our friends, we commend to them notice the spirited action of Philadelphia Abolitionists. The Pennsylvania Freeman, published in that place, must of course, owing to the large number of Anti-Slavery papers in the East, have a much more limited range for circulation, than ours. In the last number of it, is an account of a meeting, called to take proper measures, for efficiently sustaining the Freeman. Several resolutions were passed, the last one as follows.

"Resolved, That as a means of supplying immediate relief, the persons now present be requested to subscribe such sums as they may be willing to pay when called upon."

TO OUR NEXT LEGISLATURE.

The composition of our next legislature affords small ground of hope to abolitionists.

Of the eighteen senators elected last year, who of course hold their seats this year, fourteen were supporters of the Black Law—twelve democrats and two whigs. Of the nineteen senators elect this year, five were members of the last Senate, (four democrats, one whig,) and two were members of the House, all of whom voted for the Black Law. Twenty-one members out of thirty-six, will of course most certainly be opposed to its repeal.

In the House, of 72 members, fourteen of last year's assembly are re-elected, who voted for the Black Law—eleven democrats and three whigs. Of the remaining members, thirty-seven are democrats and twenty-one, whigs. As it is the policy of democracy in this state to tread down the colored man and war against abolition, the reader may easily foresee what will be the action of the next assembly on anti-slavery subjects.

One thing particularly pleases us. There are several avowed abolitionists in the lower House, more, we think, than at any former period. On these we must rely, and these must be sustained by our countenance and prayers.

Some may infer from the foregoing statements, that it will be hardly worth while to petition. A wrong inference, this. Petitioning is one of our safest and most efficient modes of agitation. Many members of the assembly come from regions where they have scarcely heard the sound of abolition. Our petitions will afford them needful instruction. Representatives, comparing themselves with themselves, may fancy that abolition has received its death-blow. Our petitions will sweep away the pleasing delusion, and convince them that there is a living and growing mass of abolition sentiment among the people, which they cannot always disregard with impunity. Friends in the legislature are few, but steadfast. Our petitions will quicken their zeal, and infuse new courage into their hearts. We have everything to gain by agitation, every thing to lose by inaction. If we would nourish our own hopes, and keep up our own abolition life, we must neglect no occasion of acting for the slave. It was because the country was quieted by the influence of false hope, that slavery was able to make such inroads on our free institutions. Just as rapid will it be its strides in future, if we suffer ourselves to be paralyzed by despair. The system of agitation, had it been steadily prosecuted from the beginning of our republic, would ere this have freed its soil from the curse of slaveholding. By incessant agitation, and by this alone, can our country now be saved. In the name of Heaven, then, for the sake of your religion and liberties, *petition! petition!* By petitioning you will bring the great question of human rights before our legislature, and the discussion will shake it to its foundation. Light will be elicited, our opponents will disengage themselves, converts will be made, our friends will be encouraged, the country interested, and the cause of human rights advanced. The best use we can make of an anti-abolition legislature is to set it talking and acting on the question of slavery.

FORMS OF PETITION.

We again print some of the forms of petitions, which we hope our friends will take particular pains to circulate.

To the General Assembly of the State of Ohio.

The undersigned of the county of respectfully pray your honorable body, immediately to pass a law securing to every human being in this State, a Trial by Jury, in all cases where his or her liberty is in question.

To the General Assembly of the State of Ohio.

The undersigned of the county of respectfully pray your honorable body to repeal the law passed at the last session of the legislature, entitled an "Act relating to fugitives from labor or service of other states."

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The undersigned of the county of respectfully pray your honorable body to repeal the law which prohibits blacks and mulattoes from bearing testimony in cases, where one of the parties to a suit is a white person.

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To the General Assembly of the State of Ohio.

The undersigned of the county of respectfully pray your honorable body to repeal all laws in this state which make any distinction among its inhabitants on account of color.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

The undersigned of the state of respectfully pray your honorable body immediately to prohibit the slave-trade in the District of Columbia.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

The undersigned of the state of respectfully pray your honorable body immediately to abolish slavery, and the slave-trade, in the District of Columbia.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

The undersigned of the state of respectfully pray your honorable body, immediately to regulate commerce among the several states, as entirely to prohibit the Domestic Slave Trade.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

The undersigned of the state of respectfully pray your honorable body, to exercise the Constitutional power vested in you, "to regulate commerce among the several states," as entirely to prohibit the Domestic Slave Trade.

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To the Senate and

"memory" in a case like this. We simply noticed the fact, that on a certain vote, important in our estimation, Mr. Kirkum did not vote. We did not censure him, for we knew not why he did not vote; but we recorded the fact, that our Abolition friends in Portage might inquire into the reasons. Mr. Kirkum wrote us a letter subsequently, complaining of our conduct, and stating that he was absent, by reason of sickness, at the time said vote was taken. The letter was immediately inserted in the Philanthropist, so that if any evil had been done, we did all we could to remedy it.

Was this intolerance?

The Telegraph's concluding paragraph contains an interrogatory, which we shall very freely answer.

"We close these crude remarks, with a single interrogatory to the editor of the Philanthropist. We have all along understood that his views are expressed in relation to the Albany resolutions, and in general on the subject of political action by abolitionists, were entirely concurrent with our own course, in opposition to those who, in this country, organized a distinct party, and refused or withheld their support even to certain candidates of the whig ticket, who, as the result shows, were acceptable to the great body of the abolitionists of the country. We have understood the editor of the Philanthropist to suppose—what we have no doubt is true—that as a distinct antagonist party, abolitionists can do nothing for the slave in any county in the state—while, by a judicious use of the elective franchise, in voting independent of party, they might accomplish much. This is the ground we have occupied. Have we misunderstood the editor of the Philanthropist in supposing him to have urged the same course? And now, in conclusion, we respectfully inquire of the editor of the Philanthropist, whether he approves or disapproves the course of the abolition leaders in Connecticut? We make bold to ask the question, because he is the official organ of the State Anti-Slavery Society, and if he disapproves that course, we want his countenance in our controversy with our quondam friends here; if not, we would know it that we may be induced the more readily and quietly to surrender the claim to be called an abolitionist, whom our respected cotemporary seems to deny us."

We did oppose the Albany resolution. Our views are unchanged. We always have been opposed to the organization of abolitionists into a distinct political party. Our views are unchanged. We always have urged upon abolitionists the duty of exercising the elective franchise in subordination to their peculiar principles, independently of party. Our views are unchanged. We cannot think, therefore, that the course of our friends in Geauga co., in nominating a distinct ticket was expedient. We have understood, however, that their provocations were great. Still we regret the step they took. Having thus answered the inquiries of the Telegraph, let us ask him, why he does not rebuke his Whig brethren of Ashtabula, for deserting the regular whig ticket, and lending themselves to the support of the democratic ticket? What does he think of this abandonment of their principles, under the influence of a most contemptible prejudice? It will not do to compare their conduct with that of the Geauga Abolitionists. These acted from principle. They could not vote the regular ticket, because it would have been in violation of their principles. But it would not have been in violation of the principles of the Whigs of Ashtabula, for them to have voted the regular ticket. The men on it were, indisputably, able and thorough-going whigs, but because they held in addition that slavery was wrong, and all men ought to have immediately their natural and inalienable rights, Whigs proved recreant to their own principles.

Strange that our friend of the Telegraph cannot find as much to censure in these whig traitors, as in the intolerant abolitionists.

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We have had on our table for some time, the "Tenth Annual Report of the state and condition of the several common schools in this city," from which we learn that they are in every respect flourishing. The Tuition fund for the year 1838 amounted to \$24,488 00. Of this \$22,003 99 have been expended, leaving a balance \$2,455 31 in the treasury. Number of pupils enrolled, 3007; i. e. daily attendance, 2471. Number of teachers, Males 23, Females 41. We observe with regret, that while the highest salary given to the male principal teachers is \$540 per annum, that of the female principal teachers is only \$300. We confess, we cannot see the justice of this.

On the claims of the colored people to the benefit of instruction to the amount of the tax collected on their property, the Board report that—

"Although the subject has frequently been called up by this Board, both verbally and in their former reports to the Council, yet no definite arrangements have been effected to ascertain the amount of tax collected on the property of the colored population of our city for school purposes. This is a matter that deserves immediate attention. The Trustees and Visitors of Common Schools are ready to appropriate the funds, thus collected, for the education of the colored children, in accordance with the revised school law of 1834, whenever they shall be placed at their disposal."

STATE OF ILLINOIS.

GALLATIN COUNTY.

Was committed to my care, as Sheriff of said county, a negro man who calls himself JOSEPH ALLEN, of the following description, viz: a dark mulatto, 5 feet 11 inches high, slim made, some of his front upper teeth out, he has short hair, will weigh 170 or 180 pounds, and says he is free. The owner or owners, if any, are requested to come forward, prove property, pay charges, and take him away, otherwise he will be dealt with according to law.

THOMAS TONG, Sheriff G. C. C.

Sept. 14, 1839.—6w \$5.

SHERIFF'S NOTICE.

Was committed to the jail of Gallatin County, Illinois on the 30th September last, a negro man and woman of the following description, viz: the man is about sixty years old five feet five inches high, tolerable black, would weigh about one hundred and forty pounds, has a very good countenance, calls his name JIM, has a dark over-coat with double capes, one pair of blue jeans pantaloons, one cotton shirt, and old white wool hat; the woman is about the same height, about fifty years old, has with her a check cotton dress, one plaid cloak; she is a little darker than the man, would weigh one hundred and forty-five or fifty pounds, rather down look when spoken to, calls her name DINAH; neither of them will tell where they are from or who they belong to. The owner or owners, if any, are requested to come forward, prove property, pay charges, and take said negroes away, otherwise they will be dealt with according to law.

THOMAS TONG, Sheriff, G. C. I.

Equality, Oct. 12, 1839—6w \$8."

A Perfect State of Society;—An Address before the Society of Inquiry in Oberlin Collegiate Institute. Delivered at Oberlin, Lorain co., O., at the Annual Commencement, Sep. 3, 1839, by REV. J. BLANCHARD.

This is a neatly printed pamphlet of 16 pages. The reputation of the author is a sufficient guarantee of the value of the Address. So far as we have had time to examine it, we think that it is a sound and vigorous production, and will richly repay every reader. We have but a few copies for sale at our Depository, so that those who may wish to procure it, had better order it immediately.

Resolved, That this convention regard as sacred the right of free discussion on ALL moral and religious subjects.

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Messrs. Andrews and Foot, lawyers, of Cleveland,

(known, far and near, as early and strong abolitionists) in the convention recently held at Cleve-

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E. N. Bartlett, A. B., S. D. Cochran, A. B., James Camles, A. B., E. H. Fairchild, A. B., N. W. Dodge, A. B., Assistant Teachers in the Preparatory Department.

SUMMARY OF STUDENTS.—Theological Students 58, Collegiate, 70. Shorter course, 8. Male Preparatory, 135. Young Ladies, 133.—Total 404.

EXPENSES &c.—Tuition in the Preparatory Department, \$15.00 a year. Shorter course Students, \$15, the first year, \$20, a year for the last two years. Board in the public hall \$1.00 a week, payable monthly in advance.

EXPENSES &c.—Tuition in the Collegiate and Theological Department.—Board 40 weeks, at \$1, per week, \$40. Room rent, from \$4. to \$6. Incidental expenses, charged, \$2. Tuition, free. Lights, about \$2.—Total, \$50.00. Wood costs only the board of getting it. Washing, 38 cents a dozen.

NEW SOCIETIES.

Perrysville, Carroll Co., 50, members.—President, George A. McAllister, Sec'y., John Saltzgiver. Formed recently by the Rev. John Walker.

Scozzysfield, Carroll Co. O., President, Rev. James Patterson.

Fredericksburg, Wayne Co., 23 members—will soon be a large society. President, Rev. James G. Irwine. Secretary, Dr. James Clarkson. Formed by Rev. John Walker.

REV. JOSEPH MCKEE, Wooster, Wayne Co., is requested to act as agent for the Philanthropist.

PUT THIS AND THAT TOGETHER.—The last Philanthropist, in reference to an extract from a local paper in Harrison county, says:

"Opposition to Abolitionism is as distinguishing a feature of the Democratic party as the Bank Reform. How long can a party thus openly pledged to support slavery retain its power?"

And yet, this editor, while he acknowledges that we are "a whole soul'd whig," is "at a loss for comment on so strange an avowal," as our preference of Clay over Van Buren for President? Few editors talk more about consistency, than he of the Philanthropist. Will our friend "put this and that together," and demonstrate his own consistency.—Painesville Telegraph.

VERY RECENT.—"Opposition to Abolitionism is as distinguishing a feature of Henry Clay the whig, as his fidelity for manufacturing compromises.

HEAVY CLAY IS AS DEEP AS VAN BUREN.—Our views are unchanged. We always have been opposed to the organization of abolitionists into a distinct political party. Our views are unchanged. We always have urged upon abolitionists the duty of exercising the elective franchise in subordination to their peculiar principles, independently of party. Our views are unchanged. We cannot think, therefore, that the course of our friends in Geauga co., in nominating a distinct ticket was expedient. We have understood, however, that their provocations were great. Still we regret the step they took. Having thus answered the inquiries of the Telegraph, let us ask him, why he does not rebuke his Whig brethren of Ashtabula, for deserting the regular whig ticket, and lending themselves to the support of the democratic ticket? What does he think of this abandonment of their principles, under the influence of a most contemptible prejudice? It will not do to compare their conduct with that of the Geauga Abolitionists. These acted from principle. They could not vote the regular ticket, because it would have been in violation of their principles. But it would not have been in violation of the principles of the Whigs of Ashtabula, for them to have voted the regular ticket. The men on it were, indisputably, able and thorough-going whigs, but because they held in addition that slavery was wrong, and all men ought to have immediately their natural and inalienable rights, Whigs proved recreant to their own principles.

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